

CARNEGIE  
CORPORATION  
OF NEW YORK

October, 1954

## How Much Do We Know About Russia?

**D**ISCOVERING the truth about Russia is one of the most difficult—and one of the most necessary—tasks facing the free world today. Fortunately, though it is difficult, it is not impossible.

The Soviet Union has resisted the curiosity of outsiders through all its modern history. Its secretive habit far antedates the Bolshevik revolution. Today, thanks to extraordinary measures taken by its leaders to impede the flow of information, it is by all odds the least known of any major power in the world.

In less tension-ridden times, the free world might have faced such ignorance of Russia with complacency. But now, as we seek to parry and turn back a world-wide Communist conspiracy, as we face the possibility of totally destructive warfare, we must ask ourselves what we know of our potential adversary. If the world is to be spared the disaster of atomic warfare, we must look forward to some sort of *modus vivendi* between Russia and ourselves. We cannot assess the possibility of such an outcome without reasonably full knowledge of the Soviet Union.

Against this background the Carnegie Corporation



has for seven years supported the work of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. The aim of the Center is to achieve increased and accurate knowledge of every facet of Soviet life and of the strengths, weaknesses, and pressures, internal and external, that determine Soviet policy.

The Center, which is under the direction of Professor William L. Langer, has explored many different aspects of life behind the Iron Curtain. It has studied Communist propaganda techniques, Communist theory in relation to practice, and the inner workings of the Communist party. It has explored the political loyalty of the Soviet citizen, the life of the Soviet worker, and the workings of the Soviet courts. It has examined Soviet science and has reported on the position of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union. In the field of economics, studies have blocked out the main dimensions of the Soviet economy, and have dealt with general problems such as theories of industrialization and the organization of the firm, as well as the concrete problems of specific industries such as steel, cement or transportation.



What is the Harvard approach? Essentially, the Russian Research Center is seeking to bring the whole range of modern social science to bear on the task of understanding the structure of Soviet life and the nature of Soviet policy. The studies themselves are as objective, accurate and penetrating as modern science can make them. They furnish fundamental knowledge of a sort which is essential if we are to deal effectively with the Soviet Union.

The Center is concerned with the whole of Soviet society. A research program of this breadth inevitably provokes questions touching upon psychology, economics, sociology, history, anthropology and government. All of these fields are represented in the Russian Research Center and are frequently called into play on specific problems.

One interesting example of the work of the Center is its large-scale project of interviewing former Soviet citizens. This project sought to explore Soviet society as it exists today, after more than three decades of Communist rule. In 1950, under an Air Force contract, the Center recruited and sent to Europe a research team of twenty-five social scientists, specialists in many fields and fluent in many languages. The team worked among Russians who had fled the country or had been displaced or taken prisoner during World War II and had refused to go back. They also talked with more recent arrivals in the stream of

refugees that constantly flows from Soviet-dominated territory. Then they drew from this group a carefully planned sample of 283 persons. The sample was selected to match the whole Soviet population as to proportions in various occupational groups, at various age levels, educational levels, and so forth.

The investigators tried out tests and questionnaires on the sample and then extended their activities until they tested or interviewed some 11,000 persons. As a check on the accuracy of their results, they studied a much smaller group of former Russian citizens in this country. For contrast, they also gave their tests to a "control" group of Americans.

Eventually the project accumulated upwards of 33,000 pages of unprocessed research materials. Scholars are now at work tabulating, classifying and evaluating the data and drawing whatever conclusions seem justified by the findings. The raw material is likely to remain a rich "mine" for original research that will be of help to investigators for years to come.

This material is being brought to bear on almost every field of study represented at the Center. Information obtained on the role of the local secretary of the Communist party, for example, has been extremely useful to political scientists on the project staff. Scholars already knew much about the formal structure of the party from official sources, but admittedly did not have detailed and up-to-date information on just what went on inside the party organization. Among the emigrants interviewed there were substantial numbers who had held low-level party posts before defecting. This group provided basic information for a pilot study of the inner workings of the party organization at an extremely important and little explored level.

### *Does the Regime Satisfy the Citizen?*

Some of the most unusual and interesting findings of the project have to do with the attitudes and values of Soviet citizens. Such material—rarely available to scholars—is essential in assessing the true nature of Soviet society. Reviewing the findings of two staff clinicians, Drs. Eugenia Hanfman and Helen Beier, Alex Inkeles, Senior Research Fellow at the Center, speaks of what he calls the poor "fit" between the personality patterns of the Soviet citizen and the matching personality and conduct of the leaders.

Discussing specifically the relations of the Russian citizen with his fellows, Inkeles says, "Here perhaps more than at any other point, the regime has created a system which runs counter to the basic propensities of the Russian character. The Russian's concern for the group, his insistence on loyalty, sincerity and general responsiveness from others receives little opportunity for expression and gratification in the tightly controlled Soviet atmosphere where every small group is seen as a potential conspiracy against the regime or its policies. The people have striven hard to maintain their traditional small groups and the regime persistently fights this trend through its war against 'familyness' and associated evils."

As a means of defining the typical Russian character, or "modal personality," as the scientists put it, the investigators used standard psychological tests in which the subject reveals his inner make-up by what he reads into various illustrations, uncompleted stories or sentences, problem situations and other materials that are placed before him.

### *Whom Can the Russian Trust?*

One aspect of the Russian character that registered strongly in many of the tests was the Russian's fear and mistrust of his superiors and other persons in general. This often clashed with his desire for joining group activities and sharing in group loyalties. As Inkeles comments, "Everything we know about Soviet society, and most of what we learn from our interviews, makes it clear that it is difficult for a Soviet citizen to be at all sure about the good intentions of his governmental leadership and his immediate supervisors. They seem always to talk support and yet to mete out harsh treatment. This inconsistency is highly likely to aggravate the apparent Russian tendency to see the intentions of others as problematical, and to view problems of trust or mistrust as posing a dilemma. I would describe this as very nearly the central problem in the relations of Soviet citizens to their regime."

The Russian Research Center was established in 1947 with a preliminary grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The Corporation has contributed a total of \$1,565,400 to the work of the Center, with current grants running through 1958. The director of the Center for its first seven years was Professor Clyde



Kluckhohn, noted anthropologist at Harvard. Last July, he was succeeded by the present director, William L. Langer, Harvard history professor. Associate director is Marshall Shulman.

The Center is not organized, nor does it function, as an instrument of our government or as an adjunct of military intelligence, yet at least one government agency has gone out of its way to affirm that it is "making continuous, direct, active use of the Harvard material."

Both the range and the impact of the studies of the Center were attested last May in an announcement from the United States Information Agency that it was sending to all its information libraries abroad copies of five recent books brought out by the Center. "What we hope to appeal to," said an official of the Agency, "is a powerful but small group of teachers, students and professional men who might otherwise fall for the intellectual appeal of the Marxist pretensions." The books were: *How Russia Is Ruled* by Merle Fainsod, Professor of Government and one of the eminent scholars at the Center; *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* by Benjamin Schwartz, Assistant Professor of History; *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia* by Alex Inkeles; and two books by Barrington Moore, Jr., Senior Research Fellow at the Center: *Soviet Politics—the Dilemma of Power and Terror* and *Progress, USSR*.



# "THE REST OF THE WORLD"



"We have got to learn, and to learn we have got to study. We shall never move from a passive status to a positive force for peace until we grow familiar with the rest of the world, admire what we can of it, understand what we cannot admire. . . ."

**D**EVEREUX JOSEPHS, former president of Carnegie Corporation, wrote these words in his Annual Report for 1946. At that time, the resources of this nation for training scholars and conducting research on other countries were drastically low. The years since then have seen a spectacular growth in foreign area studies in colleges and universities throughout the country. It has been the Corporation's privilege

to play a part in this development. Its funds have assisted in the establishment of training and research centers on Japan, Southeast Asia, India, Pakistan, the islands of the Pacific, Inner Asia, the Near East, Africa, the Scandinavian countries, Latin America, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Such centers for training and research are part of a broad, continuing effort to improve our knowledge of "the rest of the world," to increase the effectiveness of our participation in world affairs, and to strengthen our national security. The present issue of the Quarterly Report reflects something of the range and texture of these area studies.

## The Rice Roots of Japan

**P**ICTURE a small, rice-growing community of some twenty-two families—one hundred and twenty-six people in all—located in the heart of the Okayama Plain in southwestern Japan. It is a small hamlet, at the foot of a hill, with stands of bamboo and pine nearby. Fields of ripening grain and wooded mountain ridges alike show an intense, lush green in this season. This is Niiike, a typical settlement of rural, traditional Japan.

Picture, too, an American sitting cross-legged on the veranda of a peasant home, sipping tea and exchanging gossip and opinion with the family.

The American is a staff member of the University of Michigan's Center for Japanese Studies. Although his scholarly specialty may have been any traditional field of study, he is working to become a "generalist" on Japan. He is also achieving, through his close and cordial relations with nearly every

family in the village, a more accurate picture of the structure and dynamics of Japanese rural society than most foreigners have ever gained.

For almost five years, Niiike has been one of a number of real-life "laboratories" for American scholars interested in Japan. The directors of the Michigan program, which has received substantial grants from Carnegie Corporation for the period from 1947 to 1957, are notably suspicious of book-learning alone as a means of understanding Japan. Intensive graduate training on the Ann Arbor campus is followed by at least a year of field research in Japan, usually based at the program's permanent field station at

Okayama. Leaders of the projects are Robert B. Hall, director, and Robert E. Ward, assistant director.

The project at Niiike, essentially a study of life at the "rice roots" of Japan, is but one of many investigations undertaken by University of Michigan scholars. Another project, a detailed study of a political boss in Japan, has yielded our first comprehensive account of how a practicing politician operates in an Oriental culture. One student explored every facet of the career of the late Inukai Tsuyoshi, a liberal premier in the thirties. He discovered the importance of Inukai's local *jiban* or bailiwick in his rise to power, and found out how he built or



"fed" it—to use the Japanese expression—to assure political support. This down-to-earth study of a Japanese political machine bears a close resemblance to excellent current studies of American political life.

What does the Michigan staff have to say about the democratization program of the Allied Military Occupation? Michigan scholars have had unparalleled opportunities to observe how democratization has trickled down from the airy heights of legislation to the practical realities of life and politics in the villages.

They report that Japan has changed considerably since the war, but along paths clearly established before her defeat and the Occupation. Speedily and successfully, the Japanese have redirected most of the Occupation's drastic changes along what are to them more authentic and indigenous lines. A cornerstone of the Occupation's policy was full-scale decentralization. Traditionally, the Japanese prefer to do things in a centralized manner. They have already recentralized the police force, and other changes in this direction—in education, welfare, even the election of certain high officials—are in the wind.

## Headhunters and Glottochronology

**I**N THE Mountain Province of the Philippines there is a varied collection of pagan peoples, all of whom used to be called headhunters. This was an easy term, and a useful one. But to be technically correct one would have to employ some ten different names, ranging from Apayao to Tinggian, to describe these peoples.

Last year, a group of social scientists from the University of Chicago began a study of these peoples as a part of a major research program on the Philip-



pines. The larger program, supported by a five-year Corporation grant, is an investigation into various aspects of society and culture in the Philippines. Professor Fred Eggan is directing the new study.

The mountaineers of the Philippines baffled observers for many years. Sharing the same environment, the various tribes seemed to show immense differences. In the past, these differences had been explained by the theory that the tribes were basically different peoples who had migrated to the Mountain Province at different times, from different regions, bringing with them different social institutions. How else explain the contrasts? Some tribes practiced a shifting, sporadic kind of agriculture in forest and hillside clearings; others lived in compact towns and built complicated rice terraces that demanded engineering skill of considerable sophistication. In certain places a man rose to power through his hereditary position; in another, head-hunting was the main road to eminence. And there was the highly confused language situation—a veritable babel of tongues.

This complex tangle of languages has actually provided the most important clue to date in solving some of the basic mysteries about these mountain people. A new linguistic technique called "glottochronology" has yielded evidence that the mountaineers are basically one people, despite their many differences.

"Glottochronology" is the discovery

of an American linguistic scientist, Morris Swadesh, who has been assisted by Robert Lees and others. Their investigations reveal that, contrary to popular belief, the *fundamental* vocabulary of all languages changes at a constant rate. A language retains about 81 per cent of its basic vocabulary after 1,000 years; two languages separated for 1,000 years have approximately 66 per cent of their basic vocabulary in common—that is, 81 per cent of 81 per cent. By finding the percentage of words which two languages have in common, a linguistic scientist can estimate whether they stem from a common source and at what date they branched off from it.

The Chicago researchers used this technique in the Mountain Province. Their study indicates that the great majority of these languages belong together in a single group. The majority share from 40 to 80 per cent of their basic vocabulary. One tribe shares about 80 per cent with a near neighbor. About 1400 A.D., these two groups may have shared a common language and a common culture, although today their ways of life have diverged considerably.

Mr. Eggan reports that his group is enthusiastic about the further usefulness of glottochronology. "With parallel information for other regions, it may be possible to determine when man first came to the Pacific by comparing these languages with those of the Asian mainland, their assumed jumping-off place."

## French Neighbors to the North

French Canadians call it "the French fact in North America." Visitors in Quebec note it immediately—in French highway signs and public notices, in the old-world flavor of much of the architecture, in the names and speech of most of the people. The French fact is the phenomenon of a Gallic island functioning within, yet fundamentally distinct from, the predominantly Anglo-Saxon culture of North America.

Results of a twelve-year investigation into the deeper implications of this French fact are soon to appear in *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* by Mason Wade, which the Macmillan Company of Canada will publish in November. The book reaches back to the earliest history of Quebec, attempting to discover the reasons for the French Canadians' sense of "ourselves alone," their strong group consciousness and cohesiveness, their ceaseless struggle to maintain their identity over centuries of cultural attrition. Running to some eleven hundred pages the study stands as a full-scale cultural history of a people who might be called North America's most successful minority group.

Recently, Mr. Wade said, "I do not believe that French-Canadian nationalism is dead or dying, but my conclusion is that there is now a better possibility of French-Canadian particularism merging with English-Canadian nationalism into a national union. But I doubt that the ideal of national unity is possible, for the French and English will never be wholly one in Canada."

The significance of this study is not confined to Canada. Mr. Wade points out that, while there are some 3,500,000 French Canadians in Canada, there are also some 2,000,000 Franco-Amer-

icans of Quebec and Acadian stock in the United States. He adds, "There are common patterns as well as significant differences in the behavior of all minority groups. These concern all North Americans, whether citizens of Canada or the United States, and indeed all mankind, for only by the acceptance of diversity, by understanding and reconciling cultural differences, can the great world problems of our time be solved."

Much previous scholarship on French Canada has reflected ancient quarrels of both English and French Canadians concerned with their common history. Mr. Wade, an American who has lectured on French Canada at leading English and French universities in Canada, has a background which is singularly apt for one dealing with this difficult subject. "While my family's background is ultimately Scots-English, I share the faith of French Canada," he reports. "On that last point, I think Leo XIII's dictum best summarizes the Catholic historian's duty: the first law of history is not to lie; the second not to be afraid to tell the whole truth. I'd describe my role as that of 'a stranger in search of knowledge,' committed to neither side of the ancient ethnic conflict in Canada and sympathetic to both."

Mr. Wade reports that his interest in French Canada goes back as far as 1940, when his work on a biography of Francis Parkman brought him to Canada to search for Parkman's letters; the result was the well-known *Journals of Francis Parkman*. Mr. Wade became engrossed in nineteenth-century and contemporary French Canada, and decided to carry on the story from the point where Parkman's work concludes. His first exploration of the subject appeared in 1946 in a brief book titled *The French-Canadian Outlook*. Mr. Wade's research in Canada has been supported in part by grants

from the Guggenheim and Rockefeller foundations; a Carnegie Corporation grant to the Canada Foundation made possible publication of the new study.

## Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh

In 1897, Andrew Carnegie wrote to his eminent British friend, William E. Gladstone: "Never in my life have I known or read of such a success as this institution. Pittsburgh . . . has never been anything but a center of materialism; has never had a fine hall for music, nor an art gallery, nor public library, and yet the result proves that there has been lying dormant the capacity to enjoy all of these."

Mr. Carnegie referred to his first major American philanthropy, the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, established in 1896. Throughout its 58-year life, the Institute has continued to exert a notable influence on the cultural and educational life of Pittsburgh.

A one and a half million dollar grant, voted by the Corporation to the Institute in May, has recently been announced. The sum will go toward costs of modernizing and rehabilitating the Institute's building.

The Institute includes a museum of natural history, a music hall and a department of fine arts. Closely allied to it are the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Library School, and the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

## Staff News

Newest member of Carnegie Corporation's administrative staff is Robert J. Wert, who was named to the post of Executive Assistant early this month. Mr. Wert comes to the Corporation from Stanford University where, since 1951, he has served as Assistant to the President, J. E. Wallace Sterling.



A native of the Pacific coast, Mr. Wert received his B.A., M.B.A. and Ph.D. from Stanford University. He served as a lieutenant (j.g.) in the U.S. Navy Supply Corps during World War II, and from 1946-49 was Secretary-Treasurer of the Long Lake Lumber Company of Spokane, Washington.

Before taking his administrative post at Stanford, Mr. Wert taught economics at the Menlo School and College, Menlo Park, California. During the past academic year, he conducted a course on administrative problems of higher education at Stanford's School of Education.

Recently announced staff advancements include the designation of Stephen H. Stackpole as Executive Associate, British Dominions and Colonies Program; Alan J. P. Pifer as Executive Assistant, British Dominions and Colonies Program; and Margaret E. Mahoney as Assistant Secretary of the Corporation.

## ★ New Grants ★

During the past four months, Carnegie Corporation appropriated \$427,325 from its available income, estimated at \$7,397,000 for the fiscal year 1953-54.

Grants totaling \$6,027,100 were made earlier in the year and \$1,007,000 has been set aside to meet commitments, including those for teachers' pensions, incurred in previous years. It is the policy of the Corporation to spend all its income in the fiscal year in which it is received.

A complete listing of grants for each year is given in the Corporation's Annual Report. Among the grants voted recently are those listed below.

### *United States*

Haverford College, for new courses in mathematics and biology, \$19,250.

Library of Congress, to issue new recordings of American folk songs and

folklore, \$25,000. An earlier Corporation grant established the Library's Recording Laboratory in 1940.

University of Minnesota, for strengthening its program of American Studies, \$107,000.

University of Nebraska, for a community education program, \$90,000.

Reed College, for support of a senior symposium in general education, \$30,000.

University of Wyoming, toward support of a program in international affairs, \$40,000.

### *British Dominions and Colonies*

University of Natal, South Africa, toward support of the Institute of Social Research, \$35,000.

National Conference of Canadian Universities, for travel in the United States and Canada by delegates to the Executive Council of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, \$12,000.

## THE CORPORATION TRUSTEES

In 1941, when Frederick Osborn was appointed head of the War Department's Morale Branch, newspaper writers employed—and obviously enjoyed—the phrase “a tall man for a tall job.” Mr. Osborn, a trustee of Carnegie Corporation since 1936, standing six feet eight inches tall, has handled jobs of stature both before and since his wartime assignments.

After receiving his B.A. at Princeton University, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, Mr. Osborn studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, England, and then worked in industrial, financial and scientific fields.

Mr. Osborn's first government post was as chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Selective Service. In 1941, he became chairman of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation, and went



Frederick Osborn

into uniform later in the same year to head the Army's Information and Education Division. His goal, and the Army's, was to provide current information services to troops through radio, Army newspapers and magazines, films and orientation material, and to make

it possible for every man to leave the service a better-educated civilian than when he went in, prepared for a better job. This effort has been called “the biggest teaching job in the world's history.” Mr. Osborn held the temporary rank of major general when he resigned from active service in 1945.

From 1947 to 1950, Mr. Osborn served as deputy representative of the United States on the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. He is currently executive vice president of The Population Council, Inc.

Mr. Osborn is a trustee of Princeton University and the Frick Collection; a director of the American Eugenics Society and the Population Association of America. He is the author of *Preface to Eugenics*, co-author of *Dynamics of Population* and co-editor of *Heredity and Environment*.

**T**IMES change, and so do missionaries. In Victorian days the missionary's main job was to carry the true gospel to the "heathen." A favorite Christian hymn of a century ago went:

"Shall we whose souls are lighted  
by wisdom from on high,  
Shall we to men benighted  
the lamp of life deny?"

But when that sentiment, with its heavy-handed acceptance of the "white man's burden," collapsed of its own weight, it left the missionary lingering in the popular mind as a relic from another age.

Few Americans today realize how significantly the missionary movement has changed; and fewer still realize its present size and scope. There are roughly 19,000 American missionaries abroad today, a group significantly larger than the number of United States government representatives overseas. And, while most other American representatives abroad are concentrated in national capitals and large urban centers, missionaries are spread throughout the back country, providing as close a link as we have with the grass roots of the world.

Besides his conviction, what does a missionary take with him? Recently, Dr. Malcolm Pitt, head of Indian studies at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut, suggested rather wryly that he might take a violin.

According to Dr. Pitt, in addition to faith, humility and skill in some pro-

## The Man with a Mission



fession, the missionary needs a "consecrated imagination." And anything that helps to stimulate and develop that imagination, including the violin, is not to be scorned. Dr. Pitt sees imagination, especially when coupled with sensitivity and adequately protected by sound scholarship, as the one quality which enables a man to achieve true "at homeness" in another culture and to reach the responsive chords latent within it.

"The idea that the exclusive job of the missionary is to convert is an archaic one," Dr. Pitt maintains. "His real function is as a mobile unit of the world church, participating in its total program. In a specific country his job is to help the indigenous Christian church fill those gaps it cannot yet fill for itself. He must know as much about that country—its economic problems, its social system, its values and beliefs—as is humanly possible."

New phases of the Kennedy School's program, aided by a five-year Corporation grant of \$75,000, have helped further this realistic approach by en-

couraging exchange of both persons and viewpoints. Dr. Pitt explains that the Indian studies program has been enriched by the consecutive appointment of two Indian teaching fellows, one of whom, incidentally, had been chief of police in Madras. A widely attended conference was held last June on "Americans in India," with Mrs. Chester Bowles, wife of our former ambassador to India, participating in the discussion. Similar features have been added to other regional programs in the school. Next year, Dr. Pitt will return to India, where he taught for twelve years, to study current conditions in that country.

The Kennedy School, whose dean is Robert Parsons, noted expert on Africa, has specialized in training imaginative missionaries since its founding forty-three years ago. A part of the interdenominational Hartford Seminary Foundation, it offers special training in foreign studies to students who have received their undergraduate degrees and have had professional training in fields such as medicine, teaching, agriculture, or theology. These foreign area programs—pioneers of their sort in this country—cover Africa, East Asia, India, Latin America and the Moslem lands. They are designed to give the newly recruited missionary a total picture of the society he will enter, so that he goes "not with arrogance but with understanding." Business firms often give testimony to the caliber of these courses by sending personnel to the Kennedy School to prepare them for overseas duty.

### CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK

#### QUARTERLY REPORT

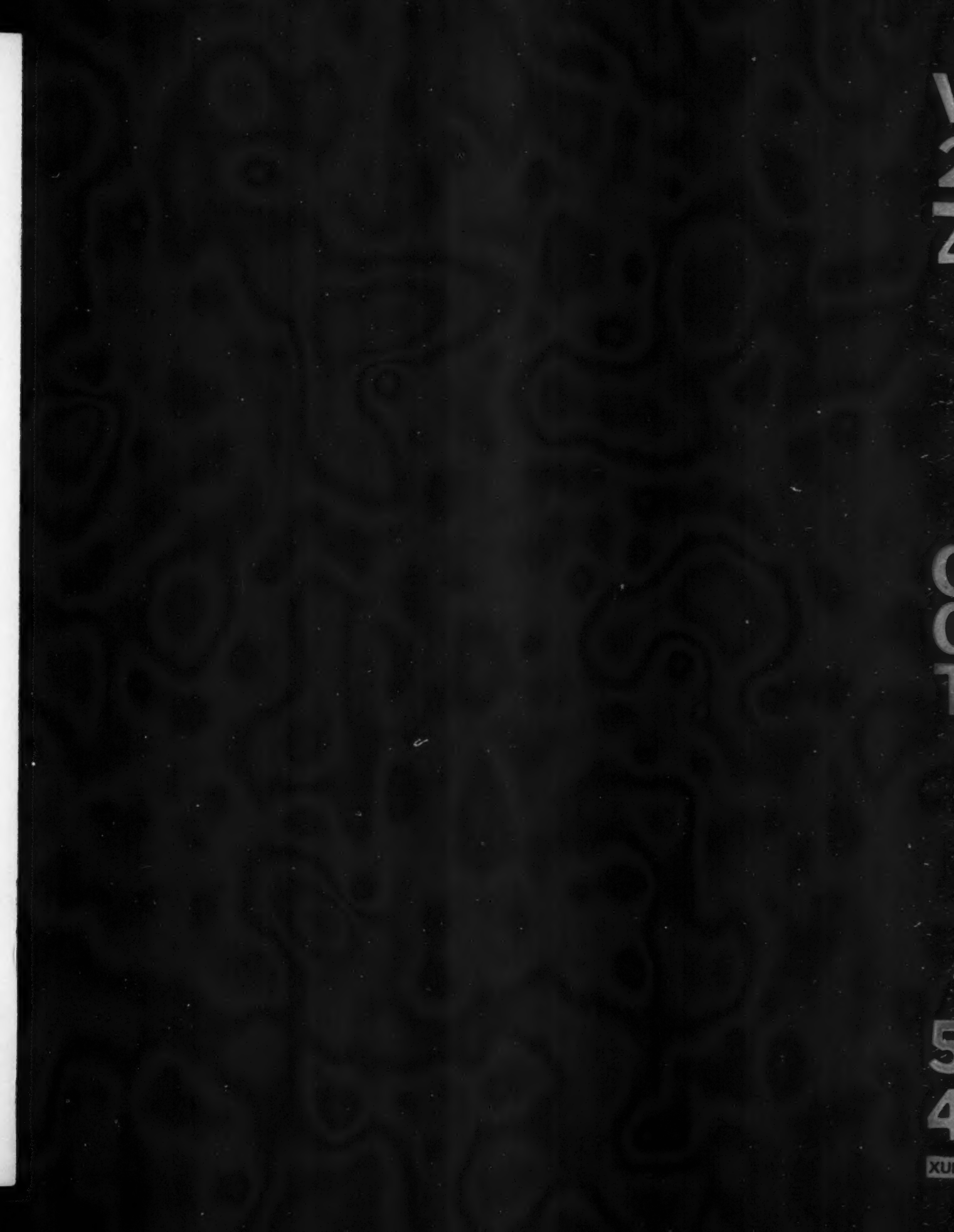
VOL. II • OCTOBER, 1954 • NO. 4

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